

CA20N
XL 11
-1996
C181

Government
Publications

THE CAREER PATTERNS OF CANADIAN
PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANTS



**ONTARIO LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY
BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ASSEMBLÉE
LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Ontario
Legislative
Library



Bibliothèque de
l'Assemblée législative
de l'Ontario

Government
Publications

Legislative Research Service
Room 2520, Whitney Block
99 Wellesley Street West
Toronto, Ontario M7A 1A9

(416) 325-3675
(416) 325-3637
(416) 325-3696 Fax

Service de recherches
Bureau 2520, édifice Whitney
99, rue Wellesley ouest
Toronto (Ontario) M7A 1A9

(416) 325-3675
(416) 325-3637
téléc. : (416) 325-3696

ISSN 0835-0299

**THE CAREER PATTERNS OF CANADIAN
PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANTS**

Current Issue Paper #181

Prepared by:

Ted Glenn
Research Officer
Legislative Research Service


November 1996

The Legislative Research Service is a branch of the Ontario Legislative Library which provides confidential non-partisan research analysis to Members of all parties of the Legislative Assembly and to legislative committees.



CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
A BRIEF HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANTSHIPS	1
Great Britain	1
The Canadian House of Commons	2
Saskatchewan	4
Manitoba	5
Newfoundland	5
Ontario	6
Quebec	7
British Columbia	7
CAREER PATTERNS OF PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANTS	8
Manitoba	10
The House of Commons	10
Ontario	11
CONCLUSION	13
NOTES	14



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761115500563>

INTRODUCTION

Are parliamentary assistantships stepping-stones to future Cabinet postings? In theory, parliamentary assistants are supposed to help over-burdened ministers with such tasks as making policy announcements, meeting public delegations and shepherding legislation through legislative committees. These tasks, in turn, are supposed to introduce members to the world of Cabinet government, creating a pool of experienced individuals from which to choose future Cabinet members. In practice, parliamentary assistantships do not always serve to apprentice possible appointees or allow them to prove their capacity as potential ministers. In most jurisdictions, in fact, other factors, such as regional representation, party loyalty and the length of the legislative session, are often more important in the Cabinet selection process than PA experience.

This paper begins by tracing the historical roots of the parliamentary assistant position and then describes its evolution in the House of Commons, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Newfoundland, Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia. Parliamentary Assistants have not been appointed in the other provinces and territories. The central portion of this paper examines whether parliamentary assistantships serve as stepping-stones to Cabinet in four jurisdictions: the House of Commons; British Columbia; Manitoba; and Ontario. Saskatchewan, Newfoundland and Quebec's experience with parliamentary assistants has been excluded from analysis either because records of their experience are not complete (as in Saskatchewan and Newfoundland) or their experience has been quite limited (as in Quebec).

A note on terminology: The generic term parliamentary assistant (PA) is used to refer to Parliamentary Assistants in Ontario, Parliamentary Secretaries in the House of Commons and British Columbia, and Legislative Assistants in Manitoba.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANTSHIPS

Great Britain

As with most parliamentary traditions in Canada, the historical roots of parliamentary assistantships can be traced to Great Britain, where in the House of Commons the position is known as the private parliamentary secretary (PPS). According to Donald Searing, the "title Parliamentary Private Secretary is not found either in the Constitution or in legislation. This is not an official position in Government; nor is it an official post in the House; nor does it command additional salary on top of the MP's salary."¹ The PPS position, rather, is most often based upon a personal relationship between a

minister and a backbencher. Today, most Cabinet ministers - and ministers of state - have their own PPS.²

Parliamentary Private Secretaries perform two tasks in Britain. First, they facilitate communication between ministers and the backbench. As one PPS described:

A PPS's principal job is in the House as the 'link man' between her minister and the backbenches. And it's her job to see that her minister gets well informed...It's her job all the time to see that she is keeping her minister in touch with what members of the party committee, and those who are interested in the particular subject of her department, are thinking, worrying about, keeping her minister in touch with what pressures are building up before they actually burst forth.³

A second task performed by British PPSs is assisting ministers in the performance of their duties, including making policy statements, representing the minister at meetings, and House duties. Assisting ministers in these ways is the primary function of parliamentary assistants in Canada.

The Canadian House of Commons

The first Canadian parliamentary assistants were appointed in the House of Commons in 1916. That year, Prime Minister Robert Borden appointed two private members (Hugh Clark, MP for North Bruce, and Fleming McCurdy, MP for Shelburne and Queens) as Parliamentary Secretaries. The PSs were appointed to assist the Ministers for External Affairs and for Militia and Defense respectively, each of whom were overburdened with work generated by Canada's involvement in World War I.⁴ In 1918, a third Parliamentary Secretary was appointed to assist the Minister responsible for Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. These first PSs were appointed at the Prime Minister's pleasure and were paid \$5,000 per year in addition to their basic indemnities of \$2,500 per year.⁵ All three positions were allowed to lapse at the end of the 13th Parliament.

In 1943, the workload generated by war again prompted the Prime Minister to appoint Parliamentary Secretaries in the House of Commons. Prime Minister King made the following comments when he appointed seven MPs as Parliamentary Secretaries that year:

...while the Prime Minister himself had to take responsibility for making the appointments, it had to be made in consultation with the minister who was head of the department in which the parliamentary assistant would be called upon to serve. The appointee would be expected to help the minister in any way the minister may think his services are likely to be most advantageous.⁶

The statutory basis for Parliamentary Secretary appointments was not established until 1959 when the *Parliamentary Secretaries Act* was passed. The Act declared that “not more than sixteen Parliamentary Secretaries shall hold office at any one time...and not for a period of less than twelve months.”⁷ The statutory basis for PSs today exists in sections 46-7 of the *Parliament of Canada Act*. The only substantive difference between the two statutes is that the latter Act, originally passed in 1969, establishes a maximum number of PS appointments equivalent to the number of Cabinet ministers who receive salaries.

The relationship between federal Parliamentary Secretaries and Cabinet ministers follows the British model in that PSs are attached to individual ministers as opposed to individual departments. Westminster’s influence was reflected in the 1959 *Parliamentary Secretaries Act*, which stated that “the Parliamentary Secretary or Secretaries to a minister shall assist the minister in such manner as the minister directs.”⁸ In practice, this has meant that PSs assist their ministers primarily with legislative responsibilities and only secondarily with departmental duties. The level of these duties depends entirely upon the minister to which a PS is attached. As Lynda Rivington notes:

The responsibilities given to a particular secretary vary with the latitude he or she is given in the role and in their capacity to initiate projects. With some, the focus is departmental work; with others, the work is more House-oriented; some strike a balance of both. In any case, if the minister has been a parliamentary secretary, that experience is generally reflected in his use of a parliamentary secretary.⁹

Legislative responsibilities typically undertaken by Parliamentary Secretaries in the House of Commons include piloting legislation through standing

committees, organizing speakers from the government side for debate on opposition days, and representing ministers during adjournment proceedings (the period just before the House adjourns when opposition members who were dissatisfied with answers to questions raised during Question Period are allowed to ask those same questions again).¹⁰

Westminster's influence on federal Parliamentary Secretaries is also reflected in the fact that PS salaries are paid directly from the Consolidated Revenue Fund rather than individual departmental budgets.

Parliamentary Secretaries in the House of Commons do serve one function which is quite distinct from other parliamentary assistantships in Britain or in other Canadian provinces. Beginning in the post-war period, the Prime minister has used PS appointments to compliment linguistic, geographic and gender representation in the federal government.

There is only one mention of Parliamentary Secretaries in the Standing Orders of the House of Commons. According to S.O. 31(2):

A minister of the Crown, or a *Parliamentary Secretary* acting on behalf of a minister, may, in his or her place in the House, state that he or she proposes to lay upon the Table of the House, any report or other paper dealing with a matter coming within the administrative responsibilities of the government, and, thereupon, the same shall be deemed for all purposes to have been laid before the House.¹¹

In 1984, the Speaker ruled that PSs are also allowed to make statements on behalf of ministers during House time dedicated to Ministers' Statements.

Saskatchewan

In 1965, Saskatchewan became the second jurisdiction in Canada to create parliamentary assistantships. The Saskatchewan Assembly passed the *Legislative Secretaries Act*, section 2 of which permitted the Lieutenant Governor in Council to appoint up to six Legislative Secretaries to assist members of the Executive Council in their ministerial duties. Saskatchewan Legislative Secretaries follow the model of PAs in the British and the Canadian House of Commons in that they served Cabinet members "in such manner as the member may direct"¹² and are paid "out of the consolidated revenue fund"¹³ instead of individual departmental budgets. All Legislative

Secretary appointments in Saskatchewan terminate at the end of each calendar year.

In 1979, legislative authority governing Legislative Secretary appointments was transferred to the *Legislative Assembly and Executive Council Act*. In 1982, an amendment to this new act removed the restriction on the number of Legislative Secretaries which could be appointed in any given year. The statutory basis for Legislative Secretary appointments exists today in the *Government Organization Act*. It should be noted, however, that Legislative Secretaries have not been appointed since the New Democratic Party was elected to office in 1991.

Manitoba

The 1969 Speech from the Throne in Manitoba announced that the NDP government would seek to “strengthen the role of the Legislature in regard to the executive arm of government and increase public involvement in the affairs of government” by creating two Legislative Assistants, neither of whom were paid.¹⁴

In 1970, an amendment to *The Legislative Assembly Act* allowed the Lieutenant Governor in Council to appoint no more than 6 Legislative Assistants to assist members of the Executive Council.¹⁵ Unlike federal Parliamentary Secretaries, Manitoba’s Legislative Assistants were to receive salaries which are “paid at the same times and in the same manner as salaries paid to members of the Executive Council”¹⁶ - in other words, out of department budgets. Manitoba LAs currently receive \$2,500 per year in addition to their basic private Member’s salary. The *Legislative Assembly Act* does not set any limits on how long Legislative Assistants may be appointed for.

In contrast to their federal counterparts, Manitoba LAs are not permitted to answer questions in the Assembly on behalf of the Government nor pose questions in the Assembly to ministers whom they assist.¹⁷

It is interesting to note that a 1976 Order-in-Council permitted LAs to attend meetings of the Cabinet Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment and Immigration “from time to time as designated by the President of the Council.”¹⁸ The Subcommittee was disbanded at the beginning of the 32nd Legislature and no similar Order has subsequently been passed.

Newfoundland

Following Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Newfoundland’s House of Assembly passed legislation in 1970 to create the position of Parliamentary Assistant.¹⁹

Unlike parliamentary assistant positions in other jurisdictions, there is only one Parliamentary Assistant position in Newfoundland and that position is attached to the Premier. According to the *Parliamentary Assistant Act*, “a Parliamentary Assistant to the Premier holds office during pleasure” and “shall assist the Premier in such manner as the Premier directs.”²⁰ The only statutory limitation upon the Parliamentary Assistant’s term of appointment is when he or she ceases to hold office.²¹

Ontario

In 1970, the Ontario Committee on Government Productivity (COGP), a major review of the provincial government’s structure and administration, recommended that Parliamentary Assistants be appointed “to provide specialized assistance for ministers in charge of major departments.”²² Instead of being attached directly to specific ministers, as in the British and Canadian House of Commons, the COGP recommended that Ontario Parliamentary Assistants be more closely attached to specific ministries. The range of responsibilities which the COGP recommended Ontario PAs assume, were accordingly more ministry-related:

- introduce Bills;
- participate in policy-making;
- make ministry policy statements;
- meet delegations;
- reply to questions in the House; and
- attend Committees of the House.

The COGP hoped that the performance of these functions would allow PAs to “become an integral part of the department organization, acquiring detailed knowledge of the department concerned” and thereby “help in the development of future Cabinet ministers.”²³

In 1972, the Ontario government enacted most of the COGP’s recommendations through changes to the *Executive Council Act*, section 3 of which was amended to read as follows:

3. The Lieutenant Governor in Council may appoint such Parliamentary Assistants to assist such ministers of the Crown as he considers advisable and may prescribe their duties.²⁴

PA legislative duties are outlined in the following Standing Orders of the Ontario Assembly:

33.(h) Parliamentary assistants may answer for their ministers only when authorized by the Premier.

49. When a debate arises on any government substantive motion, the minister or parliamentary assistant who moved it has a right of reply and the Speaker shall inform the House that such reply closes the debate.

71. A reply is allowed to the minister or parliamentary assistant who has moved second or third reading of a bill, after all members wishing to speak to the motion, and any amendments thereto, have spoken and the Speaker shall inform the House that the reply closes the debate.

105. When the House is meeting in Committee of the Whole House to consider bills, the minister or parliamentary assistant in charge of a bill being considered by the Committee of the Whole House, may occupy a seat in the front row of the House and may have up to 3 staff members seated in front of him or her to supply information to the minister or parliamentary assistant as required.

Ontario PAs are paid out of individual ministry budgets as opposed to the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Quebec

In 1982, an amendment made to the *National Assembly Act* allowed the Quebec government to begin appointing up to twenty “parliamentary assistants to assist a minister in the discharge of his duties.”²⁵ While the method or level of payment and length of term of appointment are not mentioned in the Act, it is interesting to note that it does mention one of the duties which PAs may undertake: “A parliamentary assistant may reply to questions addressed to the minister or take note of them on his behalf.”²⁶ Parliamentary Assistants have not been appointed in Quebec’s National Assembly since the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1994.

British Columbia

The last jurisdiction in Canada to create parliamentary assistantships was British Columbia. In 1985, the B.C. legislature passed an amendment to the *Constitution Act* to allow the Lieutenant Governor in Council to “appoint members of the Legislative Assembly to be parliamentary secretaries to members of the Executive Council.”²⁷ Initially, the number of Parliamentary Secretaries appointed in British Columbia was limited to 10. In 1987, this

restriction was removed and the number of Parliamentary Secretaries grew to 13. In the current Legislature, the number of PS appointments was informally limited to 8.²⁸ The amendment to the *Constitution Act* did not specify the level or method of payment for PSs.

In B.C.'s Legislative Assembly, Parliamentary Secretaries can answer questions on behalf of a minister, file statutory reports and attend informal parliamentary meetings. Parliamentary Secretaries cannot introduce a money bill.²⁹

CAREER PATTERNS OF PARLIAMENTARY ASSISTANTS

The previous section explored the history of parliamentary assistantships in Canadian legislatures. This section focuses on the career patterns of parliamentary assistants in general, with specific attention paid to the question of whether parliamentary assistantships help prospective candidates be promoted to Cabinet.

The following table documents the number of government party private members in each legislature (i.e., the size of the pool from which PAs are appointed), the overall number of individuals appointed as parliamentary assistants, the overall number of individuals appointed to Cabinet, and the number of Cabinet members who have PA experience. Please note that:

- Quebec is excluded from this table because of the short time period in which PAs were used and Saskatchewan and Newfoundland are excluded because of the lack of adequate records;
- this table does not report PAs appointed in the House of Commons prior to 1974 because this information is not available; and
- the number of PAs appointed to Cabinet includes those who were PAs in previous sessions.

Jurisdiction	Government Party Private Members*/ Elected Members	Total PA Appointments	Total Cabinet Appointments	Cabinet Members with PA Experience
House of Commons				
35th Parliament (1993-)	143/295 (49%)	49	36	6 (17%)
34th Parliament (1988-93)	133/295 (45%)	43	46	9 (20%)
33rd Parliament (1984-88)	179/282 (63%)	50	49	11 (22%)
32nd Parliament (1980-84)	110/282 (39%)	67	43	10 (23%)
31st Parliament (1979-80)	106/282 (38%)	22	30	0 (0%)
30th Parliament (1974-79)	107/282 (38%)	63	41	4 (10%)
TOTAL		294	245	30 (12%)
British Columbia				
36th Legislature (1996-)	25/75 (33%)	8	14	0 (0%)
35th Legislature (1992-96)	32/75 (43%)	10	24	3 (21%)
34th Legislature (1987-92)	30/69 (44%)	21	35	12 (34%)
33rd Legislature (1983-87)	15/57 (26%)	11	24	4 (17%)
TOTAL		42	81	19 (23%)
Manitoba				
36th Legislature (1995-)	13/57 (23%)	6	18	0 (0%)
35th Legislature (1990-95)	12/57 (21%)	8	19	2 (11%)
34th Legislature (1988-90)	7/57 (12%)	7	18	2 (11%)
33rd Legislature (1986-88)	10/57 (18%)	6	22	2 (9%)
32nd Legislature (1981-86)	15/57 (26%)	12	20	5 (25%)
31st Legislature (1977-81)	15/57 (26%)	7	18	3 (17%)
30th Legislature (1973-77)	11/57 (19%)	6	20	7 (35%)
29th Legislature (1969-73)	16/57 (28%)	10	15	0 (0%)
TOTAL		62	150	21 (14%)
Ontario				
36th Legislature (1995-)	61/130 (47%)	25	21	2 (10%)
35th Legislature (1990-95)	48/130 (37%)	43	37	9 (24%)
34th Legislature (1987-90)	65/130 (50%)	47	36	6 (17%)
33rd Legislature (1985-87)	27/125 (22%)	19	26	2 (8%)
32nd Legislature (1981-85)	41/125 (33%)	39	48	15 (31%)
31st Legislature (1977-81)	28/125 (22%)	16	32	4 (13%)
30th Legislature (1975-77)	24/125 (19%)	16	26	8 (31%)
29th Legislature (1971-75)	52/117 (44%)	12	35	8 (23%)
TOTAL		217	261	54 (21%)

* Government Party Private Members includes Parliamentary Assistants but excludes Cabinet Members because they are members of the Executive.

The data in this table suggests that individuals appointed as parliamentary assistants in Canada should not expect to be appointed to Cabinet solely on the basis of their PA experience. Rather, the data shows that the rate of PA promotion varies considerably according to jurisdiction, suggesting that other factors (such as regional representation and party loyalty, for example) are more important in the Cabinet selection process than PA experience.

The data does highlight one factor which can impede PAs' promotion to Cabinet: short legislatures. When legislative sessions were less than two years in duration, few PAs tend to be appointed to Cabinet. This was the case in three of four short sessions documented above (the 31st Parliament, Manitoba's 33rd and 34th Legislatures, and the 33rd Legislature in Ontario).

There are two obvious reasons why few PAs are promoted to Cabinet during short legislative sessions. First, parties in power often may have a tenuous majority or minority in the legislature and consequently can ill afford to make any changes to Cabinet which could shake the legislature's confidence in it. Second, some legislative sessions are simply too short to permit changes to Cabinet membership - from the ranks of PA or otherwise.

Notwithstanding the absence of a discernible career pattern to Canadian Cabinets, some observations about parliamentary assistantships are worth noting in Manitoba, the House of Commons, and Ontario.

Manitoba

The proportion of Manitoba Cabinet ministers with PA experience has been relatively small compared to British Columbia and Ontario, but not the House of Commons. Given the statutory limitation upon how many PAs may be appointed at any given time (i.e., six), and the comparatively small number of Cabinet appointments made over the past thirty years, though, the proportion of PAs appointed to Cabinet in Manitoba does not seem far out of line with the other jurisdictions.

The House of Commons

The rate of PA promotion to the federal Cabinet has increased in recent years (21% over the last four parliaments vs. 12% overall). This growth is significant given traditional career patterns in the Commons. Unlike other jurisdictions, the federal Cabinet includes Secretaries of State - junior Cabinet ministers who assist senior Ministers with various policy and legislative responsibilities. While Secretaries of State are bound by the collective responsibility of the government in power as a result of their membership in the Cabinet, they are not full-fledged Cabinet Ministers.³⁰ Rather, Secretaries of State are most often used to "develop and evaluate certain 'cabinet-ministers-in-waiting.'"³¹ In other words, Secretaries of State serve the same function as parliamentary assistants in other jurisdictions - assisting ministers and training future Cabinet ministers.

Another reason why the recent promotion rate of PAs to the federal Cabinet is interesting is the relative unimportance which parliamentary experience has

traditionally played in the federal Cabinet selection process. As Van Loon and Whittington explain:

In the early years of Confederation, it was usual for ministers to serve a fairly long apprenticeship in Parliament before being appointed to the Cabinet. The relative importance of Parliament in a minister's activities has decreased steadily over the years, while the importance of administrative, departmental, federal-provincial and general priority-setting duties has steadily increased. For this reason it has become increasingly the norm to choose ministers not on the basis of parliamentary experience but rather on the basis of policy-making skills, administrative capabilities, or, occasionally, tactical skills in electioneering.³²

Given the relative unimportance of parliamentary experience in the federal Cabinet selection process, it is in fact surprising that 21% of Cabinet Ministers have had PA experience over the past four Parliaments.

Ontario

In Ontario, the rate of PA promotion to Cabinet during the 29th, 30th and 31st Legislatures (i.e., 27%) was consistent with the role PAs played in the Davis governments in general, and the value which Premier Davis placed in PA experience in the Cabinet selection process in particular. As Graham White noted with respect to the role of PAs:

When the [Davis] Conservatives were in office, some assistantships regularly carried substantial responsibility: the parliamentary assistant to the minister of intergovernmental affairs (and later to the minister of municipal affairs and housing) dealt with much of the routine liaison with municipalities and was the government spokesman on private bills; the parliamentary assistant to the provincial secretary for social development ran the youth Secretariat, a major component of the provincial secretary's portfolio.³³

Catherine Thompson found that:

...an examination of career paths reveals a hierarchy insofar as an assistantship in certain ministries almost invariably leads to a Cabinet position. Of the eight PAs that preceded Stevenson at Treasury and Economics (or Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs as it was known from 1972 to 1978) seven went on to become members of the Cabinet. All PAs to the Attorney General have also been elevated to Cabinet. Perhaps surprisingly the Minister of Citizenship and Culture (and the Minister of Culture before it) has served as a stepping-stone to Cabinet for all its PAs to date.³⁴

The varying rate of PA promotion since 1985 indicates that subsequent governments have not consistently valued PA experience in the Cabinet selection process. For example, the rate of PA promotion under the two Liberal administrations was 13%. Under the NDP government, by contrast, the rate of promotion was 24%.

While sufficient time has not yet elapsed to gauge how the Harris government will treat PA experience in Cabinet selection process, there is preliminary evidence to suggest that such experience will be valuable.

Almost all PAs appointed in the 36th Legislature have been given at least one major policy responsibility related to their Ministry's jurisdiction. For example, Janet Ecker, MPP for Durham West and PA to the Minister of Community and Social Services, was given the responsibility to review and make recommendations to improve Ontario's day care system; Gary Carr, MPP for Oakville South and PA to the Solicitor General and the Minister of Correctional Services, was given the responsibility to inquire into the prospects of adopting "strict discipline" as a method of correctional intervention in Ontario; and Rob Sampson, MPP for Mississauga West and PA to the Minister of Finance, was given the responsibility to review and make recommendations to improve Ontario's auto insurance industry. The appointment of Sampson and Ecker to Cabinet in August 1996 suggests that parliamentary assistants are once again being used to train future Cabinet appointments and allow suitable candidates to prove their Cabinet potential in Ontario.

CONCLUSION

In most jurisdictions, PAs were originally designed to orient capable private members into the world of Cabinet government and help over-worked Cabinet ministers. To these ends, most PAs are allowed to shepherd legislation through the legislature, answer the occasional question for the minister, make policy announcements, meet public delegations and, in some jurisdictions, even become involved in major policy decisions.

Do parliamentary assistantships serve as stepping-stones to Canadian Cabinets? The evidence in this paper suggests that individuals appointed as parliamentary assistants in Canada should not expect to be appointed to Cabinet solely on the basis of their PA experience. Rather, the data presented in this paper shows that the rate of PA promotion varies considerably according to jurisdiction, suggesting that other factors (such as regional representation, party loyalty, the role assigned to PAs within particular governments and the length of legislatures) are more important in the Cabinet selection process than being a PA. PA experience is only valuable in those jurisdictions where the government in power treats it as such.

NOTES

- ¹ Donald Searing, *Westminster's World* (London: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 201.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 202.
- ³ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 203.
- ⁴ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 20 January 1917 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1917), p. 5.
- ⁵ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 8 April 1920 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1920), p. 1036.
- ⁶ Quoted in Miriam Vanderhoff-Silburt, "The Role of Parliamentary Secretaries," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 6:4 (Winter 1983-84): 6.
- ⁷ Canada, *Parliamentary Secretaries Act*, R.S.C. 1959, c. 15, ss.2(2)(3).
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ Lynda Rivington, "The Prime Minister's 'Farm Team,'" *Parliamentary Government* 4:3, p. 8.
- ¹⁰ Canada, House of Commons, Public Information Office, *Parliamentary Secretaries* (Ottawa: Public Information Office, 1996) p. 3.
- ¹¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Standing Orders* (Ottawa: The House, 1994), italics added.
- ¹² Saskatchewan, *The Legislative Secretaries Act*, R.S.S. 1965, c.8, s.2.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, s.4.
- ¹⁴ Manitoba, Lieutenant Governor's Office, *Speech from the Throne* (Winnipeg: The Office, 1969), p. 1.
- ¹⁵ Manitoba, *Legislative Assembly Act*, S.M. c.101, s.61.1(1).
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, s.61.1(3).
- ¹⁷ Memorandum from Frederick Mantey, Manitoba Executive Council Office, to W.H. Remnant, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, 29 April 1996.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ Newfoundland, *The Parliamentary Assistant Act*, R.S.N. 1970, c.284.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, s.3(1), 4.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, s.3(2).
- ²² Ontario, Committee on Government Productivity, *Interim Report Number One* (Toronto: The Committee, 1970), p. 27.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Ontario, *An Act to Provide for the Reorganization of the Government of Ontario*. R.S.O. 1972, c.1, s.3(1).
- ²⁵ Quebec, *National Assembly Act*, 1982 c.62, s.25.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ British Columbia, *Constitution Act*, B.C.R.S. 1985, s.12.1.
- ²⁸ Personal correspondence with Neil Reimer, Committee Clerk, Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 13 March 1996.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Kenneth Kernaghan and David Siegel, *Public Administration in Canada: A Text* (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995), p. 190.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Richard Van Loon and Michael Whittington, *The Canadian Political System* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1987), p. 448.

³³ Graham White, *The Ontario Legislature: A Political Analysis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 45.

³⁴ Catherine Thompson, *The Parliamentary Assistant in Ontario* [Toronto: Ontario Legislature Internship Paper, 1984], pp. 11-12.

3 1761 11550056 3

